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The Salmon Chief set the time for the construction of the weir-trap and designated those who were to do the work. He selected the exact site and oversaw the selection of materials to be used. He did not merely act as director of the work, but assisted in raising the structure as well. 226 624 796

The Salmon Chief supervised the observation of the First Salmon Ceremony;[10] it was his duty to see that no salmon were taken from the trap before the rite had been performed. Subsequent to the ceremony his principal duties were to see that all went well at the trap and that the fish were properly distributed. He appointed those who were to empty the trap each morning and evening. [476] These men removed the fish from the trap, strung them by the gills, four or five [462] at a time, on a willow pole, and carried them on their shoulders to the distributing grounds where the women kept the ground covered with fresh sunflower leaves.

At the communal traps all fish that were taken were distributed equally among all those present at the camp, irrespective of whether one was a stranger, a temporary visitor, or a permanent resident. Presentation of the fish was to women who did the cooking and drying. The size of the family was considered in the apportionment. When the catch was small it was sometimes necessary to cut up the fish in order to make an equal distribution. The individual who distributed the fish was appointed by the Salmon Chief, who was always present to see that the apportionment was entirely fair. The Salmon Chief was usually somewhat favored, receiving an extra fish or two, but these were always presented to him—he did not take any of his own accord. If a few fish remained after an even distribution had been made they were boiled by some of the women and anyone who so desired might partake of them. To the remaining liquid various women usually added berries or camas. This mixture was boiled and again anyone was privileged to help himself. 226 476 624

If the number of fish being taken was very small the Salmon Chief notified his people through a spokesmen to remain away from the stream and trap until further notice. He then wrapped himself in a robe and went to the trap, where he stayed until the following morning. During the night he prayed to his spirit to increase the number of fish so that his people would not starve. Upon his return in the morning he sent word around that they might again visit the trap. "If you go down you may find two or three salmon in the trap," was the usual nature of his message. Ordinarily such procedure resulted in restoration of the normal run of fish.

In connection with trap fishing the observance of a number of tabus by the women was necessary for success. No woman was allowed to take water from the stream in which the trap was located, nor might she visit the trap, walk on, or cross over the trails leading to it. She was further prohibited from approaching nearer than several paces to the salmon distributing center.[11] The tabu applied to all women, but the direct object was to avoid any possibility of a menstruating woman contaminating the salmon and thereby causing the run to cease. If any 226 624 784 841

[10] See pages 71-75.

[11] The man who distributed the salmon carried to each woman her share; she did not come after it.

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of these tabus were broken it was the Salmon Chief's duty to undo the mischief. He usually reprimanded the women, then notified the people to remain away from the trap while he went there and prayed that the salmon might overlook the insult and return. Usually he was successful.

If the Samon Chief were at the same time a shaman, another shaman sometimes tried his power against him by causing a cessation of the salmon run. If the power of the Salmon Chief were the greater, he realized what had caused the disappearance of the fish and called upon his guardian spirit to restore the run, thereby demonstrating his superiority. Retaliation usually followed; the Salmon Chief directed his guardian spirit to inflict punishment, usually illness, upon the aggressive shaman. In case the shaman that had taken the offensive had the greater power, the Salmon Chief was not able to bring about a return of the fish, and remained ignorant of the cause of the situation.

John Tom's father, a man with a wide reputation as a successful fisherman, was Salmon Chief. His guardian spirit was Salmon; he was not a shaman. After the death of his father John Tom succeeded him as Salmon Chief, after receiving his father's salmon power in a dream.[12]

At one time during the height of the season the river became so low that no fish could be speared.

> I (Tom) went down to the river. There was nothing but water—only water, no fish anywhere. I was overcome. I wept. I wiped away my tears, and called to my power. I sang my Salmon song. Soon the water rose, the salmon came. Many, many salmon appeared. I speared a great many. Then the sun became so bright that I could no longer see. I went back to my people. After that many salmon were speared.[13]

At another time a trap had been built at a neighboring settlement. The people had waited for three days, but no salmon had been taken. They sent for John Tom.

> I agreed to go and try to help them. I went down to the trap at evening. I stood around for a while. I felt despondent and overcome. I prayed. Suddenly I saw a lone salmon jump out onto the rocks. I killed it and took it to the other side of the stream and tied it to the trap. Then I stayed there all night. During the night I heard a thumping, thumping within the trap. At dawn the next morning I went back to the camp. I told the people to go down to the trap; that I had got one salmon anyway. Then I went to sleep. The people went down. There were three hundred salmon in the trap.

THE FIRST SALMON CEREMONY

A ceremony celebrating the arrival and capture of the first salmon of the year, and involving ritualistic treatment of the fish, formed a part of the general ceremonial complex requiring special observances in connection with the first food products of the spring.[14] The Sanpoil were one of the most northeasterly of the Plateau peoples who shared in this ceremony, which was widely distributed along the Pacific coast.[15] The Sanpoil called this rite snxa'wi'lam.

[12] See page 175.

[13] This anecdote indicates that the Salmon Chief functioned in connection with spearing, as well as trapping. Also, prayers were offered in the daytime; not only at night.

[14] The first fruits and first roots ceremonies are described on pages 97.

[15] Most probably the Colville, and possibly the Lakes, also had the ceremony. For the distribution of the rite, and an examination of its various aspects, see two papers by Gunther, *An Analysis of the First Salmon Ceremony*, and *A Further Analysis of the First Salmon Ceremony*.

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were always removed before the rest of the head was cooked, pierced with sticks, and placed in the branches of a tree. If eaten the result would be headache and sore or "broken" eyes.

Certain restrictions applied to women only. They were not allowed to eat the kidneys of the deer; men, however, cooked and ate them. Nor were women permitted to eat the blood of the deer, though they cooked it for the men.

Human flesh was strictly tabu. No suggestion of cannibalism, either ceremonial or otherwise, appears. John Tom stated that during a famine a woman once killed her child and ate it to keep from starving. As a result she died of "consumption" within a few months. I could elicit no details of the purported incident.[17]

DISPOSITION AND PRESERVATION OF MEAT AND HIDES

Two considerations regulated the duration of a deer hunting expedition. The first was the amount of game necessary to supply food and furs; the second was the amount that could be carried back to the home camp. Usually one or two weeks were required for obtaining the game, butchering, and drying the meat.

A deer was skinned and butchered either immediately upon making the kill, or after returning to the hunting camp. A strong man was able to carry a full grown deer for a considerable distance. (Young deer were seldom killed unless famine threatened.) The legs of the animal were tied together with the ends of the pack strap and the burden carried by passing the wide band of the strap around the chest. When the snow was covered with a hard crust it was often possible to drag the animal to camp. If the distance to camp were very great it was customary to skin and butcher the deer before transporting it. The pieces of flesh were placed inside the skin, the legs tied together, and the whole carried with the aid of a pack strap. The blood was usually caught in the paunch and carried along with the meat.

Whether whole or already butchered, a deer was never carried through the door of a lodge. Rather, a mat was removed from the side opposite the door to provide an opening through which the deer might be carried. Once inside, the animal was placed on a specially prepared bed of fir boughs. The objection to the use of the door was that blood from the dead animal was sure to drop in the doorway. A menstruating woman might walk through the passage and over the blood, thereby insulting the deer, who would no longer permit themselves to be taken by the hunters. While a deer was inside a lodge no woman was allowed to walk behind it.

The conventional manner of skinning was the same whether it was done in camp or at the time of the killing. Hunting luck might be impaired if done in any other manner. First, the skin was cut down the inside of the fore legs and the hoofs were cut off. Then a long slit was made from the neck, along the ventral side to the crotch. From here a cut was made along the inside of the hind legs and those hoofs removed. Finally, from the middle of the neck the skin was cut

[17] Cf., page 108.

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preferably in the woods or hills. She wore her oldest clothes and dressed her hair in a special manner. Each side braid was rolled up and tied at the level of her ears with Indian hemp cord. It was not combed during the period. In her hair she carried a small sharpened stick with which she scratched her head and face. Touching those parts with the hands during the period of the rite was forbidden. 881

Each morning before daylight and each night just after dark the girl ran about the nearby hills. These hours were selected because the girl was not supposed to be seen by anyone during the period of isolation. Upon reaching the top of each knoll she imitated the cry of the hermit owl. During the day she remained closely secluded. Her meals were brought to her by a sister or her mother. She did no work during the time. At the termination of the period she let down her hair and called for her best clothes. Her old ones were discarded and the good ones assumed before returning to camp. From this time on she always wore adult attire.

During the puberty observances, especially while running about the hills, guardian spirits were often obtained. This was the last opportunity for getting a spirit; only very rarely did a person have such an experience after puberty. However, such was not the ostensible purpose of the morning and evening excursions. 787 881

A boy was subjected to a rigorous program of exercise, principally swimming and running, at puberty, but no true ceremony was observed. A concentrated effort was made at this time to obtain a guardian spirit if success had not been achieved earlier, for as was true of a girl, the ability to achieve a spirit was gone after puberty. Sometimes the usual one night vigils were extended to periods of three or four days in this last desperate attempt. Fasting was required for the duration of the stay, no matter what the length.

Beginning with the first menstrual period at puberty a girl was secluded during each occurrence of the menses (smilumi'lxutən) in a small hut of tule mats somewhat removed from the main camp. The hut, similar to the one occupied during the puberty observances, was built by the woman who occupied it. A virtual fast was observed during the menstrual period. It was felt that food would interfere with the proper flow of the menses and result in illness. While in the hut the woman passed the time by weaving, sewing and other such tasks. She was seen only by her mother or some elderly woman, who periodically called to attend to her needs. If she had been seen by others, or if she had remained in a house occupied by others, she would have been ashamed. Moreover, the luck of any men in her presence would have been ill-affected. When menstruation ceased the woman prepared to return to the main camp. At night or very early in the morning, in the company of the mother or old woman, she bathed thoroughly in a stream or lake, whereupon she resumed her place in the family house. However, if anyone were ill in that house she went rather to some other house, that of a relative or friend, where she remained until the person recovered. 262 841 881

The existence of a multitude of tabus designed to keep the menstruating woman (sku'kəntcu'tx) from contaminating other people and things argues 784 841

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784 841 against too literal acceptance of the declaration that menstruating women were always isolated. Not only were there tabus but there were remedies in case the tabus were broken. A menstruating woman was not permitted to cook food or touch the food of others. She was forbidden to walk around the head of a bed. Yet in the menstrual hut there would have been no opportunity for such actions. Women were not allowed to take water from streams in which fish traps were located for fear a menstruating woman might be among their numbers.[8] A deer was not carried through the door of a hunting lodge since blood from a menstruating woman might have dropped in the doorway.[9] A weapon became useless if game killed with it were shared by a woman during menstruation (as mentioned above, a fast was supposed to be observed during this time); or if she stepped over or touched a weapon it was likewise affected. But there was a remedy. The weapon was rubbed thoroughly with the green leaves of the coyote mint, *Monardella odoratissima* Benth., (qp'kanu'sástən, "spear-rubbing plant"), whereupon it became as efficient as ever. Many other examples of the nature of these are to be found in connection with the activities which were affected.

Indeed, much of the ill that befell the people was attributed to the breaking of menstrual tabus.

MARRIAGE

COURTSHIP

534 832 836 Although girls were carefully watched during adolescence, and private meetings between the sexes were frowned upon, there was nevertheless a considerable amount of true courtship. When clandestine meetings were arranged the flageolet was used by the man for signalling his presence and later for amusing his sweetheart. A certain pre-arranged note was the signal. A flageolet was also played by one lonesome for companionship of the opposite sex.

534 832 The flageolet was made of bone or of a branch of the blue elderberry, *Sambucus coerulea* Raf., (tsukwi'k^{w}). The wooden flageolet was about fourteen inches long and three-quarters of an inch in diameter. The pith was removed, the ends left open and six holes provided. Buckskin bands were wrapped around the flageolet at each end of the slot, making the size of that opening adjustable. The flageolet, curiously, was not only carried as an instrument for making love but also as a protective weapon. It was of convenient size for use as a club.

533 832 Certain traditional songs, or tunes, were used in love making. Words were supplied as suited the occasion. They were usually sung by the boy to the girl. Two typical songs of this nature follow:

a···yayawawintu···'
(meaningless?)

wai···kwɬxaminaka···(etc., repeated)
I love you

[8] Cf. pages 70-71.
[9] See page 91.

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137 38. An umbelliferous species, (ȧlȧpi'spɑs). Illnesses of an indeterminate or general nature were treated with a potion made by boiling roots of this herb.

278

757 39. tcuqtcuqti'lpᵘ (unidentified). The roots of this plant were boiled with water for about an hour, and the liquor used for the treatment of syphilis. The potion was taken in the evening and early morning. Three doses were usually considered sufficient for a cure.

40. məsməsaiu'ps (unidentified). The potion made by boiling the roots of this herb was used for a variety of ailments. It was considered valuable for the treatment of tuberculosis, for arresting a hemorrhage and for curing gonorrhea. Moreover, it was used by men to counteract the ill effects of inadvertently associating with a menstruating woman.[21]

[841]

41. tcɪstcu'slɑmilxᵘ, "rattle bush" (unidentified). The leaves of this plant were crushed and applied directly to sores; or they were immersed in a small amount of water and boiled, then applied.

42. qulqulɪmi'lpᵘ (unidentified). A strong medicine used for indeterminate illnesses was made by boiling the leaves and small branches of this bush for about a half hour.

43. ʒa'sxɑs (unidentified). This is a small plant which was found in the mountains. Its tuberous root was dried, and portions of it chewed and swallowed to aid recovery from a cold.

[303] Due to the fragrant odor given off by the root, it was also used as a perfume. The root was rubbed on the face and clothing before attending a dance.

A small bit was sometimes pulverized and added to tobacco to add to the flavor.

MEASUREMENTS AND DIRECTIONS

805 The Sanpoil calendar contained twelve months, each of which began with the new moon (soq̓e'imən t̓i'taxᵘ), "the moon stands up." The solstices were observed and the month count usually began with the month in which the winter solstice occurred. This was not a formal "beginning of the year," however. Such a concept did not exist. Following are the month names and translations:

kumi'k̓utən.....	"time that it snows"
kt̓sa't̓sa'ltɑ'n.....	"time that it gets cold"
spa'kət̓.....	"time that it is white"
skənɪ'γumən.....	"time that buttercups bloom"
kəpɑtctltɑ'n	"time that the leaves come out"
kti·'xumən.....	"time of beginning of everything (activities of plant world)"
kəmi'kto'tən.....	"time for gathering sunflower seed"

[21] Cf. page 134.

Sinkaietk

[i.e., bear-hunting party. -- Analyst]

The leader of the party had to have considerable power. Nevertheless, his power would be of no avail if he went bear hunting during his wife's periods, unless he had first sweated. This was necessary for the hunter of any game under the same circumstances, but in this case the bear would certainly kill the hunter. Before going out to hunt the grizzly, he painted his body red, being nude save for a breechclout, and drew red marks on his cheeks. Or having smeared red paint over his face, he scraped claw-like marks with his finger tips (see Figure 16).

He would stalk the bear and shoot it all alone, relying on his power to prevent it from charging. The other men might help dispatch it with spears and clubs. After he had killed two or so, the other men might try, for then they would have the protection of his power. No dogs were used, though reported by Teit for the Thompson. A bear was skinned on the spot, the meat divided equally among all the men, although the head, heart, paws and skin went to the head man. If he had a number at the end of the season he would give some of these parts to his followers.

An anecdote illustrative of the danger from grizzlies was told by Mary Carden. Some women were camped on the Methow in September. One old woman had a dream that someone would be killed. Four young girls went gathering choke cherries when they came on the tracks of a grizzly. At that three of them hurried to lace their baskets to return. The fourth, a captive, was not afraid. She went on picking while singing a love song. A bear sprang from behind a bush and clawed her face. She screamed. The other girls ran to camp. The bear tore the girl to pieces, even tore out her heart, and dragged the body to the creek where he covered it with mud. The women returned to the main camp. Next morning the men set out to find the remains.

Deadfalls were set in the early spring when bears came from their dens, usually during a big thaw, for at this season they were in good condition. The trap is rectangular in shape, open at one end, made by driving stakes into the ground, four down the two long sides and three across the back. In the diagram (Figure 1) the upper right hand stake is extra large, and may be a living tree. The stakes are about six feet high and three inches in diameter, placed close enough together to keep a bear's head from being poked through. The entrance is two feet wide, just wide enough to permit the body to go in. A horizontal pole (1) is fastened across the tips of the two stakes standing next to those at the entrance. Another horizontal piece at right angles to this rests on it (2). A verticle pole is attached to the main upright stake by lashing it at the center. The top of this pole (3) is notched and the end of (2) fits under the notch. On the other end of 2 rests a very heavy log (4), which is the deadfall. Thus 2 is held in place; but if the bottom of 3 be pulled forward, towards the middle of the trap, so that its

ground, with one fire for each family, all directly under the opening. Nearby were wood piles and food stores for immediate use. Sleeping spaces were about the wall. On the floor were fir boughs covered with grass; also tule mats. Such a house was built before the fall hunt, usually in as short a time as two weeks. It held from forty to fifty people. Tillson said that the Okanagon houses were not like this, however. 171 342

The summer shelter consisted of a rectangular roof supported by poles, the sides being left open. Four poles were planted in the ground, the pair in front about six feet high and the rear pair somewhat shorter, so that the roof would slope slightly from front to rear. Four horizontal poles were lashed to their tops, forming a rectangle. Two or three thicknesses of tule mats were laid on the roof. Sometimes an extra pole was laid across the roof of larger structures to support the mats, and sometimes fir boughs were used for roofing. The size of a shelter was increased by adding an extra pair of vertical poles at the rear of the framework, thus making it longer from front to back. Any trees growing nearby would be used for the poles except pine, the odor of which was objectionable unless well dried. 342

A second type of summer structure was built as follows: four upright poles were set in the ground in a row, to the top of each a long pole was lashed with one end resting on the ground; fir boughs were then laid across these sloping rafters. This lean-to was unknown in the northern part of the territory around Oroville, but was reported by Chilowhist Jim from south of Omak.

Generally, when travelling, mats for a tipi were carried along. Poles were obtained at the camp site and set up as in the winter tipi, but no foundation pit was dug for this temporary structure: the poles were simply planted in the ground a few inches deep. The summer tipi was covered with one or at most two layers of mats. Rough tipis of fir boughs and brush were also made for temporary use. Flexible horizontal poles or twigs were tied on over the brush to keep it in place. The floor was covered with grass. The fire was built outside. 342 484

The menstrual lodge was the regular mat-covered tipi, put up by the women. A large village might have two. At a temporary camp rough bough structures were provided. This lodge was always at least fifty feet from any dwelling. 343 [841]

For the construction of a sweat house a dozen birch wands about fifteen feet long were cut. Such a lodge was about four feet high and four feet in diameter. Four wands were placed with both ends in the ground to form four parallel arches, the two outer arches somewhat smaller than the two at the middle (Figure 6). The butt ends of the two middle wands were on the same side of the lodge; the butt ends of the other pair on the opposite side. The remaining wands were

291 285 aprons, one before and one behind, fastened at the waist by a strip of bark. The apron was made from the outer bark of the shrub, from which the cortical layer was stripped. Strips about twelve (?) inches long were fastened together at the top by three or more rows of twining, spaced a half inch apart. The rows of twining appeared in the upper eight inches of the skirt. A skirt made of strips of willow bark, which seems to have been a true skirt, not two aprons, was tied in front of the right hip. This reached to the knees.

A willow bark shirt for women, poncho-like, was worn with the willow bark skirt

292 530

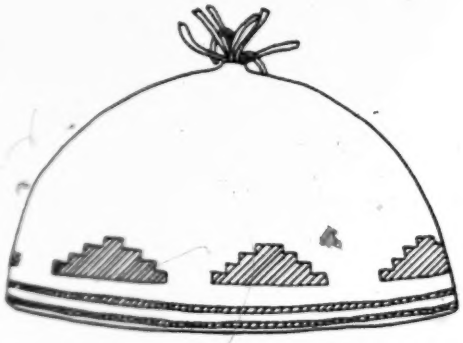

Fig. 13. Basketry hat (after native sketch).

and made much like it. The garment, which reached only to the hips, was fabricated in twine weave; the rows of twining, spaced two inches apart, came to about six inches of the bottom, the loose ends of the willow warps being left as a fringe. It was tied under the arms and hung with its lower margin of fringes tucked under the top of the skirt. The process of twining followed a definite procedure: it was begun at the right shoulder of the garment and inserted in the order indicated in Figure 12. A three or four strand belt, braided or twisted, was worn with this. This was tied in front or on either side.

292 ●841 839 During menstruation women wore a narrow breechclout of buckskin lined with cattail down. Girls commonly wore a broader strip in a similar fashion as a protection against rape. These strips were attached to the belt by thongs fore and aft.

292 Circular shoulder capes were made of small furs, as coyote, fawnskin, or groundhog. Four groundhog skins sufficed; these being laced edge to edge. Buckskin thongs tying in front of the neck held the cape on. They were worn by both sexes in rainy wea-

881
785 Lucy Joe, at least, this followed the quest,
866 which took place when the boy was nine to twelve years old.

381 The girls' rites were rather more com-
841 plex. The seclusion period was longer, and the tabus more numerous. There were also formal rites, which are extremely difficult to reconstruct with certainty. For some reason they had ceased to be practiced before the coming of the mission, so that even the two oldest of our feminine informants had not gone through them and knew them only by report. As they were both from Kartaro, it is possible that this may have been a purely local death of the custom.

At the appearance of her first menses the girl left the dwelling house and remained in a little tipi built for her some distance from the village. Before she went her mother bound her hair in rolls which hung low on either side, behind her ears, and were decorated with fur and sometimes other ornaments. She was required to keep this coiffure during the period of isolation. She might not touch it, even to scratch it, or pain of future baldness. Instead she used a scratcher in the form of a miniature comb which hung in the tipi for her convenience. Her forehead and cheeks were daubed with red or yellow vegetable paint, applied over a layer of pine pitch. She wore undecorated clothing, which she was not allowed to change. Sometimes she used a shell or a drinking tube, lest the contact of her lips dry up the spring she wished to drink from.

When a girl first menstruated, her mother made for her a band of buckskin to pass between the legs, being tied to the belt by long thongs. A layer of soft cattail fluff was spread inside this band. The band was retained for use in later life. Cecile stated, however, that formerly no such article was provided.

783 While menstruating she remained alone
881 in the hut, eating little or nothing. According to Michel, she had to lie on her left side with her face to the east, but this report is doubtful. There was no notion that her glance was baleful and she might freely look at the sky, e.g. She was supposed to observe all the regular menstrual tabus. When the flow ceased, she built a small sweathouse, and entered upon the long period of purification. Here she often stayed even over night. She took frequent sweat baths,
[782] using the regular song, and praying for various virtues, particularly that she be not lazy. At intervals in the sweating process, she would return to the menstrual lodge to resume her occupation with basketry, etc. Every morning she went swimming, even if the water were ice-covered. Cecile stated that she swam each morning, but did not use a sweat house.

343 This sweat house was quite a distance
881 away from camp. Several of the informants said that she built a series of them, in various places. If this is true, it was at any rate not the general pattern.

This is in recognition of the bondage she is under to Coyote as a payment for his gift of salmon to the people. 773 782

After she leaves the lodge she gives the salmon to an old woman, who puts it under her pillow. It is believed to have great potency. "Once when the people were starving, nine of them were saved merely by sniffing at some of this salmon."* 881 825

Lucy Joe interpreted the piling of the rocks by the girls at puberty in mythical fashion too. Coyote had ordered the rock piling, but it no longer need be done, since he had been set adrift on the ocean. 773 881

She also added that during this time the girl must run up a hill with stones under her dress, and must then loosen her girdle so as to allow these to fall out. This sets the pattern for ease in delivery which her future children will follow. 844 881

Curtis' account of these ceremonies says only that the girl at puberty had her hair bound into two rolls, and lived in a wickiup, dancing and praying to the sun on a hill at night for ten days."* Teit's account, somewhat fuller than this, mentions the washing in running water and prayer to the Day Dawn. He says also that some made circles and figures of stone near the trails at this time, which were sometimes painted. Boys took sweat baths for power, strength, and skill, and sometimes performed feats as tests. They piled rocks and sometimes made red paint pictograph records."* 881

The girl at puberty had to obey all the tabus which were required of menstruating women. Should she come near a man with power he would be harmed, and might punish her by making her menstrual flow continue indefinitely. He could check it by giving her a piece of deer liver or kidney. Women, during this period, stayed in a lodge for the purpose, a hundred yards or so away from the rest of the houses. A large village might have more than one such lodge. While accompanying men on a deer hunt, women built a menstrual lodge at the edge of the camp. The women gossiped and made articles for household use. No man was ever supposed to approach this lodge, lest his power be affected. The objects made there did not, however, share this tabu. 841 881 [343]

On a hill across the Columbia from Brewster are a group of rocks said to be Coyote's eight-section house. To one side is a small pointed hill which was the women's menstrual lodge of Coyote's group. 773 823 841

In common with the girl at puberty, the woman who was menstruating must avoid the sweat house. The sweat house symbolized 783 841

*[For footnotes, see p. 111 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

783 man's luck and power: her pollution would be permanent. Sometimes hot rocks covered with green grass on which to lie were put in a pit in the menstrual lodge as a substitute for the customary sweat bath. They were not allowed to take back to the village the clothes they wore during this time. These were cleaned with diatomaceous earth and left in the lodge. Fresh ones were brought them by girls to don after a sweat bath and a bath in the river, taken before returning to their ordinary life. They were not allowed to cook, even for themselves. Food was brought to them from the village, and none of it might be left till the next day or brought back to the village. Anything but bloody meat and fresh salmon might be eaten, and possibly the first of the camas or berry crop. They were not supposed to drink directly from a stream, lest it dry up. The drinking tubes used were made by pushing the pith out of an elderberry shoot. They should not comb their hair during the period, but could scratch the head with their fingers. Women in their periods could not help men in any way, nor would men look at or talk to them. Should a man eat anything cooked by them, he would sicken, lose his power, and game would flee from him. While a woman with a small baby might take it to the lodge with her, older children were left in charge of the husband or some relative or neighbor. At the lodge a woman busied herself with making mats, sacks, etc., which she was free to use later in the household.

841 [296] 841

Women who did not menstruate were free from these restrictions. They were said to be fairly common, but this may mean merely that slight menstruation is not noticed and considered. [These women were said not to have children. - L.S.] Those whose periods were of excessive length took each month a drug, unknown to the informant.

881 When the period of seclusion for adolescent boys and girls was over they returned to the village in a very unceremonious fashion. The return was unheralded and uncelebrated. If a boy changed his name at this time there might be a feast, but it would be on account of the name. The adolescent returned, no longer a child nor given to the things of childhood, but an adult ready to take his place in the adult scheme of things

881 After the return from seclusion the
883 boys accompanied the men on their hunting trips, and assisted in all the manly pursuits. The first kill of a deer (and of a
E 24 bear, said Cecile) made by the boy was welcomed by the community and ceremoniously treated. He himself did not eat of it, but all the old men did (or at least he did not eat until the old men had partaken). This was for the sake of his future luck in the hunt. At this time the lad was in the neighborhood of eighteen or twenty. The girls stayed at home, going abroad only when chaperoned by some older female relative, except early in the morning before the boys were up when they went to sweat, swim, and get the water for cooking. They were supposed to swim every day. They became acquainted with

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

If she refused her husband's brother, who was obliged to marry and sustain her, his responsibilities ceased, and she was no longer considered part of her late husband's family. She had to leave, and could marry whom she chose. Her children were taken by her husband's brother or his relatives. Infants remained with the mother until old enough not to need her. Then she had to relinquish the child to its father's family.

Separation between husband and wife was uncommon. Elopements occasionally occurred. In this case the husband had the right to kill his wife and her paramour.

Women lived apart from their husbands during menstruation, and appear to have been at these times under restrictions similar to those obtaining among the Thompson.[207]

MOTHER-IN-LAW TABOO.—It seems that formerly there was a strict taboo forbidding a man to speak to his mother-in-law; also in many families women did not speak to their fathers-in-law. These customs are said to have been in vogue long before the tribe commenced to go to the plains, and were not adopted from any eastern tribes. The restrictions regarding speaking obscene conversation before relatives were similar to those of the Arapaho.

BURIAL.—The Coeur d'Alêne disposed of their dead by burial in the earth or in rock slides. Corpses were never cremated or deposited on scaffolds or in trees. People were buried in the nearest suitable place. Only rarely did people bring the body from a distance and bury it beside relatives' graves or in family or communal burial grounds. Only bodies of chiefs or prominent men were sometimes thus treated. An instance of this was that of a great hunter called *Cxlcxltcó'ls*, belonging to Mission. He was accustomed to hunt far to the southeast of St. Joe River, in the Clearwater country, at the extreme end of the Coeur d'Alêne hunting grounds. He died in these distant mountains after 10 days' illness. He was a tall, heavy man, and the people tried to carry his body home through the long stretch of rough mountainous country. Horse after horse gave out, and at last they had to bury him in the mountains. Bodies of warriors who died on distant expeditions or in enemy country were not burned, as was often done by the Thompson and Shuswap. The body was buried in some hidden place, or under the camp fire of the lodge in which the man had lived. A fire was built over it to destroy the signs of burial. The camp was then struck; and many people and horses passed over the grave, treading the ashes of the fire as well as those of other fires in the camp. This rendered it impossible for any enemy to detect the burial. Burial under the camp fire rendered it much less likely that the body would be discovered and dug up by wolves. Sometimes a person was buried and a fire built over the grave.

[207] *a*, pp. 326–327.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

583 generally relatives of one or both families; sometimes by one or more of the parents directly, and occasionally by the chief of the band. A direct form of proposal appears to have been fairly common among the Similkameen and Okanagon, the young man going directly to the girl in her lodge and, in the presence of her father, saying to her, "I take you for my wife." The girl's parents and relatives then considered the proposition, and the girl was also asked what she thought about it. If she herself or the parents refused, the suitor was generally rejected. If all agreed, he was accepted, and when next he or his parents called they were informed of the decision. His relatives then announced what presents were to be given to the girl's parents, and if they were satisfied the match was arranged.

There appears to have been no "conducting" ceremony (*okawa'it*),[10] and, on the whole, marriage ceremonies seem to have been simpler than those of the Thompson.

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FIGURE 28.—Figures incised in bark of trees
a, Girl; *b*, man; *c*, perhaps rifle; *d*, woman; *e*, perhaps an animal; *f*, perhaps a woman's cap.

● 841 CUSTOMS REGARDING WOMEN.—The same restrictions were imposed upon menstruating women as among the Thompson. During menstruation women lived apart from the other people, occupying a semi-underground lodge in the winter and a rude shelter or a half tent[11] of mats in the summer. In the mountains, when people were hunting, a shelter of brush and bark under a large tree had to suffice.

764 DEATH AND BURIAL.—Bodies were generally interred, graves being dug in sandy places. Edges of benches, terraces, and sandy mounds were usually chosen. Rock-slide burials were common in places where slopes of slide rock abounded. Heaps of rocks were placed over graves, especially over shallow graves. Deeper graves were often surrounded by a circle of rocks. A slender pole was generally erected at the head of the grave. Among the Okanagon canoes were sometimes hauled up on top of the grave. In 1904 I saw fragments of canoes lying on old graves near Ashnola, Similkameen.

[10] See Thompson, *a*, p. 321. [11] See p. 328.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

304 856 *191 The Nez Percé are said to have had the same arrangement, and some of them purposely flattened their children's heads by severe tightening of the pad. Many people in all the tribes below or west of the Nez Percé flattened their children's heads to some extent, but only from The Dalles down were heads flattened severely."

881 *191 PUBERTY.—Puberty customs and ceremonies were similar to those of the Coeur d'Alêne and neighboring Salish tribes. Young men fasted, prayed, exercised, and kept vigils until they acquired one or more guardian spirits. They obtained songs from them, as among the other tribes.

58 595 *191 MARRIAGE.—Marriage customs were like those of the Coeur d'Alêne. A great many men had two wives, and some more. A marrying dance was in vogue. Revais said he had known five or six women who died as old spinsters.

593 *191 [606] MOTHER-IN-LAW TABOO.—Unlike the Coeur d'Alêne, the Flathead had no mother-in-law or father-in-law taboo. Brothers and sisters were not expected to speak obscenely in each other's presence. A brother who talked obscenely within hearing of his sister, and *vice versa*, was severely reprimanded; and if he persisted or customarily did this, he was no longer respected by the people.

841 178 *191 CUSTOMS REGARDING WOMEN.—Long ago menstruating women had to live apart in a tent by themselves. In later days they were allowed to live in the same tent, but apart from their husbands. Now it is said they cook food and live with their husbands, as among white people.

764 *191 BURIAL.—Burial was the method of disposing of the dead among all the interior Salish tribes. The corpse was sewed or tied up in mats, skins, or robes, and placed outside on a scaffold or in the branches of trees until ready for burial. As soon as the people had gathered and a grave had been dug, it was buried in the ground, preferably in sandy knolls, or in the rocks at the base of a rock slide. In olden times stones were piled on the top of graves. The pole by which the body had been carried was erected over the grave. Sometimes also one or more small poles in form of a tripod were erected to mark the spot.

766 *191 Offerings were tied to these poles. If the burial took place in a strange country no stones or poles were used, and all marks of the burial were obliterated. This is said to have been chiefly so that no enemy might find the grave and desecrate it in any way or take the scalp of a person lately buried. To deceive enemies, horses were ridden and driven back and forth over the grave, as well as over the ground for a considerable distance around; so that it became difficult to tell the exact spot of the burial. (See p. 363.)

Another method was to bury in the camp circle and to light a fire over the grave, so that it had the appearance of one of the ordinary fires of the circle. A number of small camps were also made to de-